1: Burrows--87 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 592 Ifalik

"The smallest unit based on common residence is the household, except insofar as the family maintains separate residence within the household. Both these units are determined also by kinship so they will be discussed later."

1: Burrows--92-93 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 592 Ifalik

"The buildings in which the people of Ifalik live are not isolated and self-sufficient, nor are they apartments in larger buildings. They are single-room structures, always grouped in clusters. Most often the clusters include several dwellings (im) and one cook-shed (malūm); but some have only one dwelling, while others have more than one cook-shed. What gives them their unity is location on distinct, named sites or homesteads. During our stay on Ifalik 29 homesteads were inhabited, as shown on the map, Fig. 22. The number of inhabitants to a homestead ranged from 3 to 19. Of the 29 homesteads, 12 were occupied by 6 to 9 persons.

Membership in a household--defined for this culture as the group inhabiting a homestead--is determined not only by common residence but also by kinship. The kinds of kinship ties that typically unite the members of a household in Ifalik appear in the following list, which sorts out into broad classes the 29 households that existed there in 1947-8.

(a) Three households consisted of simple families--father, mother, and children.

(b) Seventeen households were made up of joint families of the type usual when residence after marriage is matrilocal, that is to say, groups to which the married men belonged by virtue of marriage, the others by virtue of common descent. More explicitly, seven of these households comprised a married couple (or one surviving member), their unmarried children, their married daughters, the husbands of these daughters, and the children of these couples. Two of the largest households--one with 14 members, the

other with 19--included two such groups. Seven more were similarly made up of kinsfolk related by common descent in the maternal line, plus the husbands of the married women. The exact membership of these varied with varying incidence of births, deaths, and marriages. But all conformed to the same type.

(c) Seven households included, in addition to an extended family, one or [93] more individuals, or families, more distantly related, or not recognized as kinsfolk at all.

(d) One household (Falūm) was made up of a family and a bachelor, the latter related only very distantly.

(e) One household (Uarigīn) was an extended family of the type brought about by patrilocal residence."

"The people who inherit a homestead from generation to generation--as distinguished from husbands who come in by matrilocal residence--are all related by common descent in the maternal line. They are members, not only of the same clan, but of a subdivision of the clan, descended from a common ancestress less remote than the clan's traditional founder.

Although in Ifalik descent is not memorized by means of genealogies, the heirs to most of the homesteads are so closely related that a common ancestress is either alive or at least remembered by living descendants. In the three households which consist of simple families, the common ancestress--since husbands are excluded by definition --is of course the mother. These households conform to type only if they are living on her ancestral homestead. Otherwise they will found a new line if the women stay on the same homestead, whatever its previous history, for more than a generation. In nearly all of the 17 households which consist of extended families, the common ancestress is either the oldest living woman or--when there is more than one in the oldest generation, or its only representative is a man--the mother of the oldest members. In only a few cases is the common ancestress more than one generation earlier than the oldest living resident. Similarly, in most of the households which have an extended family as a nucleus, the members of this nucleus have a common ancestress within two or three generations. It is only in the few atypical households, in which residence [97] other than matrilocal predominates, that a common ancestress is either lacking or too

remote to be remembered.

Unless the homestead has been settled or reoccupied within a few generations, the remembered common ancestress was not the founder of the line. In homesteads long occupied, the line extends back farther than the people can trace it. Attached to each homestead are one or more ghosts, ancestral members of the line, thought to be still active for good or evil. Some of these, too, were in the flesh within memory of the living. But others seem to be more ancient, so that the connection can no longer be traced.

For lack of a better name, such a line of heirs to a homestead will be called a lineage. That term has been variously defined, and the Ifalik line of descent does not fit all the definitions. But it conforms to the broader ones.*"

"* Lowie has recently proposed the term 'kin' for groups of this character when the members can not trace relationship to a common ancestor. The groups he has in mind are commonly clusters of lineages, not only larger but more complex than those united by inheritance of an Ifalik homestead. It seems clearer here to retain the term 'lineage', which is in use for similar groups elsewhere in the Carolines. The Ifalik group could be made to conform to Lowie's definition of a lineage by excluding from membership ancestors whose genealogical position has been forgotten. But in Ifalik ghosts of some such ancestors are believed to be still active members of the group."

1: Burrows--98
116, 613, 592

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Although descent, inheritance, and succession are mainly matrilineal, the father's homestead and lineage are by no means ignored. The father's share in procreation is recognized. The father, by matrilocal residence, lives on the same homestead, usually in the same one-room dwelling, as the rest of the family. And he is not merely tolerated there, like an interloper. He is as much at home as those who inherited the site, and has as much authority in ordinary household affairs as men of about his age in the mother's lineage.

Yet he has not lost either rights or obligations toward his own maternal lineage and homestead. And some of this is passed on to his children. Thus everyone inherits, through his father, a kind of secondary membership in the father's household. The parade of a girl to her father's homestead at the conclusion of her first menstruation ceremony has already been mentioned as a token of this relationship. Both boys and girls feel some obligation to contribute their services, and some claim to share in the products, of their fathers' households. The father's death weakens this relationship but does not end it. For the next generation, though, it dies out almost entirely. Only in exceptional circumstances would either obligations or privileges toward the people and property of one's paternal grandfather by strong enough to lead to action."

1: Burrows--108-109 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 592, 423, 613 Ifalik

"Homesteads are spoken of as belonging to particular clans. Again the association with rank in the case of Kovalū and SauvelārIk provides the clearest cases. The homestead Uelepī, as just noted, is said to be tabu to all but members of the clan and the husbands of the women--women of the senior lineage of Kovalū--who live there. SauvelārIk has a similar homestead, Tom hastened to assure me--Bwagolei, inland from the men's house, a site no longer inhabited.

In the beginning of our census by households, Tom said that the homestead Ilux, where the highest chief, Wolpetau, lived, 'blong Wolpetau.' [109] He added that it was a homestead of the clan Bwēl. But Wolpetau's clan is Kovalū. In living at Ilux, his wife's ancestral homestead, he follows the custom of matrilocal residence. The homestead 'belongs to him' in the sense that he lives there and, being the senior male, may have the final word, if he cares to, about household activities other than routine.

When we came to the homestead Val i Trel, Tom said 'Blong WolpaitIk', though WolpaitIk lives at Uelepī. This is ownership in another sense. Val i Trel is WolpaitIk's ancestral homestead, but, following the custom of matrilocal residence, he has not lived there since he married. How much interest he takes in the affairs of the household is a matter of choice with him. Any wish of his would be respected, and might well be carried out. But ordinary affairs of this household would only concern him by way of his responsibility for his sister, who lives at Val i Trel. If the sister had sons,

WolpaitIk would have an additional interest on their behalf; but as it happens she is childless.

These cases illustrate a point already made in the discussion of homestead, household, and lineage. Homesteads are occupied and used by households, which are typically extended families; and they are inherited within maternal lineages. For practical purposes that statement covers the question of actual ownership, as distinguished from the imputed ownership by clans or individuals. In other words, title to the homestead is inherited within a group whose existence the natives never explicitly acknowledge--the lineage. Usufruct of it belongs to the household."

1: Burrows--124-125 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 476, 592 Ifalik

"This economic system entails a constant interchange of services, but tends to minimize exchange of goods. Production is for subsistence almost [125] exclusively; only rarely for trade. There is, to be sure, some routine exchange within the household, determined by the customary division of labor. Men--young men especially--provide coconuts, toddy, breadfruit, fish, timber, cordage. Women provide taro, cooked food, mats, the better baskets, woven cloth, fiber for cordage. Since the goods involved are owned jointly, it is services that are exchanged in this daily housekeeping.

Exchange beyond the household also involves services more often than material goods, as has been brought out in the discussion of labor. In addition to the obligation of return services imposed by a contribution of labor, the food served to a working party on the completion of a task, and at intervals during the course of longer jobs, is part payment."

1: Burrows--179
116, 592, 613, 776

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"No individual names were recorded for one whole class of supernaturals, the ancestral ghosts associated with homesteads or lineages. There are said to be at least as many of these spirits as there are homesteads (twenty-nine occupied in 1947, several more that had been occupied within the memory of those living then.)"

1

2: Damm et al. --81 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 423, 592 Ifaluk

Land and soil do not belong to an individual, but to the family; this also applies to the stand of fruit trees. Even the five bugodăl, which the king possesses, are not his personal property, for he shares them with his brothers and sisters. The taro fields belong to the female, the coconut palm stands to the male members of the family. When a man marries, he brings his wife the usufruct of the property of his family. There is a mutual agreement about whether they shall receive their nourishment from the soil of his or her family. If the woman has any children, the husband gives one or two of his family plots to his wife's family. The amount depends upon his own wealth, and in any case they are never whole pieces of property; generally they consist of a taro field for the girls, and several palms for the boys. Some palm trees are always assigned; a group of them on the border of the property is notched in a particular way with a knife, so that a circular mark is made. This group is not for the children; it becomes the personal property of the mother's family. We can still see how the mother was formerly the central point of the family. A family has between one and seven pieces of property. The boundary lines (nibidăli bŭgod) are shown by trees.

The same regulations apply to the household possessions; the huts belong to the family, and indeed to the whole family.

4: Krämer--107 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 592 Lamotrek

As on Truk, we have very pronounced matrilineal rights.... The woman owns the house, etc.

28: Spiro--28 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 592 Ifalik

"Smaller than the lineage, though in part comprising it, is the household, for which there seems to be no native name. The household lives in the lineage house, and is an extended family, which includes the elder woman or women of the lineage (sisters), their husbands, unmarried sons and daughters, married daughters, the latters' husbands and children. Thus, all but the men who have married in, are members of the lineage. The household is the basic economic unit in the Ifaluk social structure, for despite other economic functions or obligations that the members of the household may have elsewhere, the household is the basic production and consumption unit, as we shall see when we discuss the economic organization."

28: Spiro--33-34 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 592, 345, 283 Ifalik

"Rope is made in the canoe-houses, these most important social and economic structures. Objectively viewed, there is little, if any reason, why the canoe-house should be the locale of its manufacture. It would be just as convenient to manufacture it in the home, except that there seems to be an aversion for doing any work in the house. For that matter the house is actually used for sleeping and conversational purposes only, since the cooking is done in the malum, and the people eat [34] outside, except in the case of rain. So that despite the desire for rope, a man will never make it in his house, though his evenings could very well be taken up by its manufacture. There is no taboo on the performance of economic activity in the house; it just is not so used."

28: Spiro--42 [5] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 431, 592 Ifalik

"Distribution presents no problem of Ifaluk, each household being an economically-autonomous unit, and hence exchange is not necessary. There is inter-atoll trade, as we have already seen, but, as was pointed out, this trade really falls into category of gift-exchange."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

We picked up that word "boondock" in Guam, and very useful it proved to be. It became an important part of the Abbott-Bates vocabulary, and may well have also infected the Ifalukian speech. In Guam, it was used to refer to the wild tangle of miscellaneous vegetation that had taken over so much of the island after the disruption of the war.

The boondocks on Ifaluk were the parts of the atoll that were not clearly something else—that is, not coconut grove, not taro swamp, not household area. The boondocks were not exactly wild, because all sorts of useful things grew there, including planted coconuts and breadfruit trees. They were not exactly cultivated either. Such areas could thus hardly be called "jungle" or "scrub"; and "forest" seemed rather inappropriate. "Boondock" was just the word; though we could perhaps better have used the Ifalukian equivalent, niwel.

The boundary between the coconut grove and the boondocks was sharply defined: weeds and shrubs were kept cleared out of the coconuts only up to this definite line—the boondock line. This again roughly paralleled the lagoon shore, fifty or sixty yards in. We plotted it on our map, later, when the trail mapping seemed fairly well in hand.

The habitations, deep in the coconut grove and near the boondock line, were grouped into "households." The census showed that there were twenty-six such households on the atoll, eleven on the island of Falalap, and fifteen on Falarik. The Falarik households were not scattered evenly along the highway and lagoon, but formed two clusters or villages, one called Ranau, at the south end of the island—the Fan Nap was in the middle of this—and the other called "Falarik" (the address would probably be "Falarik, Falarik") with a gap of about a quarter of a mile along the broad highway between the two.

The whole system of land ownership of the island was built around these households, each of which had a name. Later in the summer we tried to map the holdings of one household, Falepenach. These holdings included not only the immediate vicinity of the living quarters, but also several patches of boondock and coconut grove on Falarik, and patches in the big taro swamp on Falalap. The patch arrangement seemed to provide that each household would "own" its share of each of the different kinds of land.

The households varied greatly in size, from one which included

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

The households varied greatly in size, from one which included only one old man and one old woman, to another (Falepenach) which had twenty-six persons. The household system was matrilineal, and when a man married he moved into the household to which his wife belonged. In the matter of what belonged to which household, a man generally seemed to know much more about the household of his mother than about the household of his wife, even though he had been living in the latter for many years. There was considerable informal movement among the households—people sometimes eating and sleeping regularly in a household to which they didn't really "belong"—which introduced a considerable element of confusion into the census making. This informality plus clan relationships and other family ties meant that labor was not strictly apportioned by household—the two old people who officially represented the smallest household were as well looked after as old people would be in a household with numerous members. Everyone really "belonged" to the whole island.

This matter of "belonging" had been on my mind ever since reading that thought-provoking short novel by Carson McCullers, *Member of the Wedding*. The "security" of the children of Ifaluk impressed us from the very beginning. Every child was a member not only of a family and a household, but of the whole island society. A child crying would be comforted by the nearest adult. Curiously, the children, though "secure", were far from obnoxious—in fact it would be difficult to imagine a more delightful bunch of kids. The "sibling rivalry" that seems to plague every American household was conspicuous by its absence—the mannerly, non-aggressive character of Ifaluk society extended even to the five-year-olds.

The security of the children of Ifaluk is probably still further increased by the widespread system of adoption. Ted found that over a third of the children of the island had been "adopted" by couples who were not their biological parents. When a couple for some reason wish another child, they go to a pregnant woman (who must be of the clan of either the adopting father or adopting mother) and ask if they may adopt the child when it is born. The request, it is said, is never refused. The adopting mother goes to the birth house with the real mother—all children are born in a special house, which is taboo to men—and stays there while the baby is born. The biological mother keeps the baby

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

326 semicircle out from the shore and back again. Then men on shore started hauling in the seine, moving slowly along the beach to close the circle, a process that lasted from midmorning to midafternoon. Men in canoes were constantly guiding the movement of the seine and as the circle narrowed in shallow water, men with great dip nets stationed themselves along the seine at regular intervals to catch the fish that were frantically leaping out from the milling horde within. Finally, as with rop fishing, the imprisoned fish were driven into traps which were emptied into canoes, to be taken back to the Fan Nap where Toroman, as always, supervised the division of the catch by households.

But the photographing of the yating fishing took place late in the summer. We had only been on the island a couple of weeks when we took part in the rop fishing expedition off the reef and we were full of wonderment about everything that went on about us.

535 571 The evening after the rop fishing there was dance practice again. It was going on every evening and I began to develop a theory that daily dancing was a basic element giving cohesiveness to the island's social structure. It seemed to combine the functions of amateur dramatics (participating in activities) and going to the movies (spectator entertainment). In this case the same people were at one time participants and at another time spectators. Even the kids formed their dance groups, clapping and stomping and chanting in shrill, enthusiastic voices—usually in the early evening, before the adult sessions started. (My theory was all right, I think, except that dancing was an intermittent rather than a continuing activity, since there were long danceless periods between the proper ceremonial occasions.)

535 292 Even for these practice sessions, the people generally got pretty much dressed up, the men at least wearing garlands of flowers on their heads and coconut-leaf skirts over their loin-cloths. The men of Ifaluk, of course, tended to be the gaudier sex. This may be "natural" not only for man but for animals in general, Western civilization being out of step in this regard. Even in the West it hasn't been so long since the days of bright, embroidered waistcoats, and Hawaiian shirts seem to be spreading now in certain parts of the United States.

At any rate, Ted thought it was time for a present when Bakal